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NATIONAL REVIEW

Bulletin

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The mounting campaign of the Communist-led, Soviet-supplied Pathet Lao to bring all Laos under their direct rule brought questions to the President at his March 15 press conference. "Recent attacks by personnel and supplies from outside," he replied, "seek to prevent the establishment of a neutral and independent country. We are determined to support the government and the people of Laos in resisting this attempt." The New York Times' headline composer supplied the summary gloss: "Kennedy Pledges Support to Laos."

Two days later the Times' headline announced that the pledge was being translated into action: "U.S. Steps Up Aid to Laotian Army." The dispatch noted a doubling of the U.S. "instructor" force in Laos, along with shipments of arms, ammunition, gasoline. A State Department spokesman affirmed U.S. readiness "to back the Laotian government to the hilt."

On March 20 the President met with his highest civil and military advisers. The result pushed the next day's head a full phase higher: "U.S. Ready to Face All Risks to Bar Red Rule of Laos." The dispatch spelled out the meaning: "The President has moved beyond his announced policy of support for the Royal Government of Laos . . . The Kennedy administration has resolved to face all the risks of a test of wills with

the Soviet Union rather than let Laos fall under Communist control."

"A test of wills . . . all the risks . . ." Hard, and welcome, words.

And yet . . . On the same morning a nearby column in every journal carried the news of the negotiations on the nuclear test ban, reopening with a series of "concessions on some controversial issues" (extending the "voluntary moratorium," permitting the Russians to inspect some of our explosive devices, reducing the proposed number of inspections on Soviet territory—that sort of thing). Concessions by us, of course: there was no news of concessions offered from the other side.

A week earlier a number of Soviet products were suddenly removed from our list of prohibited imports. Soviet crab meat may now freely enter. It had been on the list because the law forbids entry of products of forced or slave labor, and Soviet crab meat is processed in the MGB's notorious forced labor empire of the Soviet north. The administration now joins Premier Khrushchev in giving Soviet labor conditions a clean bill of health.

On the 16th, Mr. Kennedy's Post Office Department announced that it would no longer hold up Soviet propaganda (some 15 million pieces annually) that uses the U.S. mails as the means of transmission.

On St. Patrick's Day the American Council of Learned Societies, acting with the advice and consent of the administration, signed a new agreement with Soviet authorities for a big new program of cultural, lecture and research exchanges.

Surely it must have occurred to a few among the President's high advisers that the active agent in the nuclear negotiations, trade offers, propaganda distribution and cultural exchanges is one and the same as the active agent who planned, supplies and in basic strategy directs the armed advance of Pathet Lao. It must have occurred to at least one of the men around the President that the armed advance in Laos and the peaceful—and endless—negotiations over test bans, trade, exchanges and this and that are not two different policies that indicate a conflict between "war-like" and "peaceful" intentions in the Communist camp, but two complementary tactics in the single, unwavering strategic line so neatly summed up by Nikita Khrushchev: to bury us.

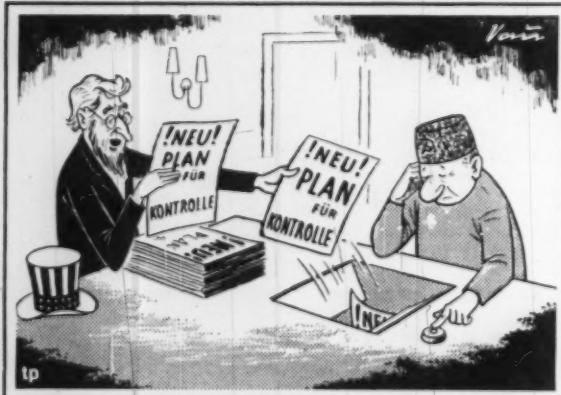
It is to be "a test of wills with the Soviet Union," then? We are merely battling one tentacle, while caressing others.

The WEEK

- The lineup: Soviet Union-United States-United Arab Republic-Ceylon-Liberia vs. Great Britain-France-Chile-Ecuador-Turkey-Free China. How do you like the team your captain chose for that match, fellow-citizens? Date: March 15. Arena: UN Security Council. Prize: a resolu-

tion — violating alike a nation's sovereignty and the UN Charter's restriction of such proposals to "threats to international peace" — condemning our ally, Portugal, for events in her African province of Angola, and demanding an on-the-spot international investigation thereof. No resolution has been introduced on the subject of the Pathet Lao war against the legitimate government of Laos, an operation supplied and directed by one UN member against another, and known to every diplomat in the world to be a grave and immediate threat to international peace. Perhaps the new Moscow-Washington united front will get around to it one of these days.

- Everybody seems to know who is going to succeed Senator Thruston Morton as chairman of the Republican Party. NR put an unwary dime on John Lodge. Most Republican senators and congressmen, a half dozen columnists, the national newsmagazines, and the man in the street, will tell you it's to be Ray Bliss, of Ohio. The *New York Times* has flatly announced it's Congressman William Miller from upstate New York. It may turn out that Miller, like Castro, will have got himself a job through the *New York Times*. As to the merits of the two men still in the running, so far as one can tell they are both excellent politicians, and both of them members of the conservative wing of the party. Bliss drew heavily-Democratic Ohio for Nixon. And Miller stood firm for Nixon against the blandishments and pressures of Rockefeller back when Rockefeller was trying to undermine Nixon's pre-emptive claim to the nomination.



"It is my hope that the negotiators will proceed with all appropriate speed . . ." (President Kennedy in a bon voyage message to the U.S. delegation, off for the Geneva opening of the 1961 nuclear test ban series.)

- The Grand Jury has indicted Mr. William F. Rickenbacker, associate editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, for refusing to complete the so-called Blue Form visited by the Census Bureau of the Commerce Department on every fourth American citizen last year. Mr. Rickenbacker has retained as counsel the distinguished and scholarly Mr. C. Dickerman Williams, an occasional contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW, and former counsel to said Commerce

Department, who will appeal for the dismissal of the indictment on the grounds that the law does not entitle the Census Bureau to ask an American such impudent questions as were asked by the grotesque Blue Form; and if the law does permit such questioning, then the law is unconstitutional under the Fourth (illegal search and seizure) and Fourteenth (due process) Amendments.

- The agreement allowing the United States to operate the Dhahran air base in Saudi Arabia will expire soon, and, because of anti-American political pressure, the agreement will not be renewed. The base would be important to the West in limited wars, and might have been used, for example, as a base for the airlift during the Lebanon crisis if more convenient bases had not been available in Turkey. By April, 1962, the only air base available to the United States in the Arab world will be Wheelus Field, more than 2,000 miles away in Libya. The British have moved most of their bases out of neutral countries, to isolated areas. The U. S. remains wholly dependent on land routes between the Near and the Far East.
- There'll be no rolling out the barrels in Cuba today. The island is out of beer. Real reason: Cuba hasn't the wherewithal to buy supplies with which to brew the beer in its nationalized breweries. Official version: Under Fidel, Cubans have so much money that they have drunk up a year's supply in three short months.

- Two of the largest anti-Castro groups have announced their unity under the leadership of José Miró Cardona and Manuel Ray, and have encouraged rumors that they will soon move to overthrow the Castro regime. Both men served Castro in the early weeks of his rule, Ray as Minister of Public Works, Cardona as legal expert responsible for the revised criminal code with its reimposition of the death penalty for political crimes. Most of the scores of rival anti-Castro groups reject the Cardona-Ray claims, and assert that what Cardona and Ray object to in Castroism is only that Fidel and Che Guevara instead of Cardona and Ray are in the drivers' seats. The critics say there is reason to believe that this unity move is a typical CIA gambit on its perennial favorite, "the non-Communist Left." A rival anti-Castro coalition is taking shape under Aureliano Sánchez Arango.

- Vasco Garin, Ambassador of Portugal to the United Nations, answered the UN's resolution against his country as follows: 1) Portugal does not have a colonial system of government. "Portugal" is a unitary state, politically, juridically and morally — though spread over four continents. Angola is to Portugal what Hawaii is to the United States. 2) The Angola incidents were instigated by Communists and local terrorists. 3) The disposition of terrorists caught roaming the streets of a Portuguese city is strictly an internal problem. Interference by the UN sets a precedent. "Internal matters of sovereign member states become international disputes

if they run against the doctrinaire beliefs or if they happen to conform to the particular dislikes or special idiosyncrasies of other states." No country, says Garin, "would allow the ordinary maintenance of public order . . . to be supervised by an international organization."

● B. Carroll Reece was a gentleman and a conservative and a brave and forthright man, who served his country adamantly, whatever the nature of the crisis. If it was war, he was at the front line. His conspicuous bravery during the First World War won him a number of awards from both the American and the French Governments. In politics he fought as bravely, against modish Liberalism. He even dared to conduct an investigation into the nation's great private foundations, and for a while the entire Liberal community was torn by the question whether it should hate him, or Joe McCarthy, more. McCarthy won, but it was a narrow squeak. Reece went on about his business, moving quietly, but purposefully, serving for a time as chairman of the Republican National Committee. He suffered many months from lung cancer, but stuck to his duties to the end. We mourn his death, and thank him for his great favors to the country.

Dayal Africanus

UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold has reconfirmed Rajeshwar Dayal as boss of the UN's Congo operations. Khrushchev knew what he was doing, after all, when he pounded that shoe of his on the table at the UN.

No assignment could be more fantastic from the standpoint of normal diplomatic or administrative procedure. Dayal is *persona* superlatively *non grata* to President Kasavubu, who is recognized by the UN itself as legitimate head of the host nation. He is no less repugnant to Premier Illo or Congolese army commander Mobutu. To them all Dayal has not only been insolent and arbitrary; he has done what he could to prevent them from developing an effective government. And he has deployed the UN troops in such manner as to block Mobutu from countering the military threat from Oriental province.

Dayal has consistently acted to undermine Moise Tshombe and his functioning regime in Katanga. He has done the same to Albert Kalonji and the Kasai regime.

Devoting his and his troops' energies to the sabotage of the non-Communist Congolese leaders and to rooting out remaining Western or pro-Western elements, Rajeshwar Dayal has had no time for the suppression of the murder, rape, robbery and cannibalism that have flourished under his proconsulship.

Neither Patrice Lumumba nor his successor, nor the Ghana-Guinea-UAR-India combine that has backed the Lumumbists, nor the Soviet puppeteers who have so shrewdly pulled the strings that make the combine jump, have had reason to complain of Rajeshwar Dayal. Thus

PEOPLE: Nelson Rockefeller reported "not too well pleased" by N. Y. State Republican chairman **Judson Morhouse**'s suggestion that Republican Party, in future, concentrate on wooing Negro and ethnic big city votes. This, plus gratuitous Morhouse slaps at Sen. **Barry Goldwater**, could upset Rockefeller campaign strategy in conservative up-state New York. . . . GOP voters in New York City will have alternative candidate in the Sept. 7 mayoralty primary if party organization puts up **Jacob Javits** or some other equally left-wing Republican. **Vito Battista**, head of the conservative United Taxpayers Party, who polled 70,000 votes in 1957, has officially entered the race.

Australian Prime Minister **Menzies** alarmed over loss of South Africa during recent Commonwealth meeting. "There will not be any Commonwealth," he warned, "if it becomes a court with people on trial, because we shall all expel each other." . . . **Tom Mboya**, Kenya nationalist leader, already is talking of getting Afro-Asian bloc mobilized to throw South Africa out of United Nations. . . . Morocco press violent in its attacks on General **Kettani**, recently called home from serving with the UN forces in the Congo. Kettani's crime: He favored the Léopoldville regime, opposed **Lumumba-Gizenga** forces. . . . French Premier **Michel Debré** emphasizing in recent speeches that the (French) Sahara has "no links with any neighboring country, its people owe no allegiance to neighboring states." France hopes that by offering preferential treatment to Morocco, Tunisia in Sahara she can enlist their support against Algerian claims on oil-rich area. . . . Gen. **Teimour Bakhtiar**, head of the Iranian security forces and a hard anti-Communist, has been forced to resign by failing health. Western diplomats hope his successor will be as tough.

There's been such a demand for **Nathaniel Weyl's Red Star Over Cuba** that Devin-Adair is bringing out paperback Spanish edition. . . . **William Holland**, former secretary-general of the Communist-dominated Institute of Pacific Relations, now head of Asian studies department at the U. of British Columbia in Vancouver. The IPR quarterly, *Journal of Pacific Affairs*, will be published in future by the University. . . . **James Hoffa** has warned his Teamster locals to make sure they use the secret ballot in electing delegates to a special convention on July 3. (Last time they didn't and Hoffa got monitored.)

Robert Neitzel, director of a state museum in Mississippi, in trouble. He planned to dispose of mummified Egyptian mummy by burial but found he couldn't. Not without a death certificate.

far Dayal is their man, who has made smooth their path. If it had not been for Dayal there would probably not be today the anti-Western base in Stanleyville, now rapidly expanding along the Yenan Way.

So Dag Hammarskjold—Communist Public Enemy #1, UN's White Knight of World Law and Order—re-appoints this very Rajeshwar Dayal as his man in the Congo! Incredible paradox? Not in the least, but carefully planned that way. It is for this the shoe was pounded, and the rabid vilifications poured into the microphones. The pitiful Secretary General has been maneuvered to where he can move only in an anti-Western direction. He cannot recall Dayal, because—the case has been fully prepared beforehand—that would prove Khrushchev's cynical charge that he is "a Western stooge." Not only the Communists but the horde of neutralists—who have the votes, don't let's forget—would descend en masse on the trembling little fool who is Secretary General.

All that Dag Hammarskjold can do from now on is try to give one after another proof of his "independence" of the West. But let him not dream that even a thousand such proofs will win him surcease from the Communist lashings. When a drunken *muzhik*'s dog howls under the knout, the *muzhik* only whips the harder.

Schools: The Goldwater Alternative

Senator Goldwater's proposal on education is rather complicated, but here it is. Let the comptroller in the town you live in specify how much of your property tax goes into the support of your local school. Let a part of that figure, as determined by Congress, be deducted from your income tax. Example: You pay \$800 per year property tax (let us say). Of that sum, \$500 goes toward defraying the cost of the public schools. Let Congress stipulate that, say, the first \$200 of that tax is directly deductible from your income tax.

As it now stands, of course, local taxes are deductible from one's taxable income. Net benefits to the individual vary, then, according to his bracket. This arrangement would not be disturbed under the Goldwater plan, merely supplemented by the straight deduction. Assume in the above case that you are in the 30 per cent bracket. You may then deduct \$240 from your tax (30 per cent of \$800). Under the Goldwater plan, you would deduct \$240, as usual, but also the extra \$200, which would be, in effect, a balance for your local school system to draw on, if your town decides it is needed.

In our example, we set the figure directly deductible from the tax at \$200. That figure is variable, at Congress' discretion. Senator Goldwater's recommendation is that the exemption be calculated to return to the local communities between \$3 and \$4 billion annually, a sum substantially in excess of what is currently recommended by the Kennedy Administration. The Senator's proposal

• At Home •

Washington

After two months in office, President Kennedy has shown a remarkable capacity for reaching the public and a paradoxically concomitant inability to get things done. A steady stream of messages and draft bills has flowed into the Congress. At the White House and in the Executive agencies, the bustle and scurry has been reminiscent of a hysterical spring-cleaner with a feather duster, moving the dirt from one spot to another. But in terms of solid achievement, there is little to show for the "honeymoon"—as Presidential aide McGeorge Bundy frankly admits.

Mr. Kennedy's much-vaunted farm program has turned out to be nothing more than a blank check for Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman—which means the leftist National Farmers Union—to diddle with price supports, acreage allotments, and commodity prices. The hidden kicker is this: Congress will have no positive say in agricultural policy. Under the so-called Kennedy plan, the legislative arm of the government will have an ostensible veto power over what Mr. Freeman does—a power which has meant in previous cases that Executive schemes become "law" while Congress is busy with other matters.

The Peace Corps—Mr. Kennedy's greatest publicity ploy—is meeting with growing opposition on Capitol Hill. The question has already been asked: "Who will screen the Peace corpsmen to prevent the organization from succumbing to left-wing and Communist infiltration?" Despite strict censorship imposed by the White House, details of the Corps' "mission" have begun to leak out. What is known so far is giving political observers here a bad case of the jitters. For those drawing up the blueprint have gone far beyond the do-good aspects of the program. What was to have been an offer to send teachers, technicians, and experts in government organization to underdeveloped nations has been transmogrified into a table of organization for a political army.

Its job will be to encourage "democratic opposition" in those host countries whose present regimes don't match the ideological coloration of the Peace Corps. In short, a group of callow young people will be urged to seek out dissident elements in Asia, Africa and Latin America—and to give them aid and support in undermining struggling legitimate governments. The U.S. survived a junket to Africa by Assistant Secretary of State G. Mennen Williams—popularly known on Embassy Row as "the black man's burden." But one Peace Corps intervention could create an international incident which might blow us out of the underdeveloped countries.

At the United Nations, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson has sold U. S. prestige for a mess of Liberal applause by standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the Soviet Union and

the United Arab Republic. The U. S. vote in the Security Council to meddle in Angola—a blow not only to the Portuguese but to the French, British and Spanish as well—is Mr. Stevenson's brainchild. By censuring Portugal for taking steps to resist wholesale murder of whites and blacks by Mau-Mau-style terrorists, the U. S. has not only encouraged similar outbreaks but deeply shaken the NATO alliance. The sentimental "anti-colonialism" of the Angola vote, moreover, will win us nothing. For it is clear that given their way, the new African states will eat us before Nikita Khrushchev has a chance to bury us.

The Administration, it is true, won a victory by ramming through its jobless aid bill. But the means whereby it achieved this were hardly in keeping with the lofty sentiments frequently expressed by the President. In the House, the bill went to the floor with a gag rule which barred any amendment. (This is one fruit of Speaker Sam Rayburn's successful fight to "liberalize" the Rules Committee.) Changes made by the Senate Finance Committee were branded as an effort to rob the unemployed.

What Senator Harry F. Byrd was attempting to do—and he lost by a margin of two votes—was to rectify a condition in which a state like Virginia gets back 52 cents of every dollar it pays into the unemployment compensation fund, but a state like Alaska draws \$3.67—hardly a fair distribution of tax benefits. But since jobless pay is, as one politician here noted, "politically very sexy," the Administration squeaked through in knocking out the Senate Finance Committee's modifications.

The Forgotten Man of the New Frontier is Vice President Lyndon Johnson. That he exists must be a fact. He has nineteen offices scattered around the Capitol, the Senate Office Building, and other Federal rabbit-warrens. He has also been named chairman of a space committee without useful function and an anti-discrimination committee without authority. But it has been made clear to him that the Vice Presidency is being returned to its state of innocuous desuetude. Mr. Kennedy's organization of the White House allows for no interlopers, and he prefers to deal directly with all officials and all visitors—even if they come bearing salamanders. He has, moreover, expressed dissatisfaction with the Cabinet system and would happily dispense with the National Security Council.

The real assistant Presidents are two Kennedy aides—Special Counsel Theodore Sorenson and McGeorge Bundy. Mr. Sorenson has always been Mr. Kennedy's alter ego, and he has taken on himself the liaison functions which Vice President Johnson expected would be his. Mr. Bundy's task is to ride herd on the two most important departments in the Executive Branch—State and Defense. No one in Washington has ease of access to the President's office—excepting, of course, Caroline and Tom Kitten.

QUINCY

is far preferable to Mr. Kennedy's because it will allow local control, and keep the money from passing through federal hands. The optimum solution remains: Keep the federal government out of education, lower taxes, encourage the growth of private schools.

BRIEFS: Uncovered by the UN Conciliation Committee in the Congo, files of correspondence between Patrice Lumumba, Moscow and Peiping, including a treaty of friendship with the USSR signed for Lumumba shortly before his death by his deputy Antoine Gizenga. . . . The Congo government says it will soon put up customs barriers for all incoming United Nations goods. . . . UN authorities overruled Congolese objections last week to fly supplies to the famine-stricken Oriental and Kivu provinces which Lumumbists control. The supplies consisted of money and gasoline. . . . The Lumumbist paper *Uhuru* in Stanleyville is edited and printed by Czech technicians and writers headed by Jaroslav Boucek, former editor of a CP paper in Prague.

Rep. Francis Walter (D., Pa.) has introduced a bill which would authorize the Customs Service to hold up Communist printed matter entering this country unless it is clearly marked as Communist propaganda. (A recent White House order put an end to seizure of Communist propaganda by postal authorities.) . . . Rep. Johansen (R., Mich.) warns American Catholics that federal aid to parochial schools which so many favor will ultimately mean federal control of church schools. He suggests, instead, that they back a "federal tax credit for all citizens" which would release more funds on the local level for support of public and private schools (see Editorial). . . . Richmond elementary school children this spring are getting a course in the methods and objectives of Communism. A similar course in Orlando, Fla., has been widely acclaimed. . . . Washington D.C. is only three states away from getting the vote (Presidential). Oklahoma last week was the 35th state to adopt the 23rd amendment [Washington is 53% Negro.]

United Europe advances: Holland like Austria, Belgium, France, West Germany and Italy will no longer require passports for travelers from those other five countries. . . . After April 1st, Spain will no longer require documents for cars from foreign motorists. . . . Norway and Argentina have signed a treaty permitting their nationals to meet military obligations in either country.

Telephone statistics: The USSR has the fewest number of phones per capita of any industrialized nation; Canadians talk most per phone.

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• Trends •

On Tuesday, March 21, the United States returned to Geneva, Switzerland, to begin its 274th negotiating session on the subject of nuclear testing. Our government has determined to try, once more, for a "workable" test-ban agreement with the Soviet Union.

The talks began from a new plateau of scientific understanding. It has been the American position, during previous negotiations, that achievement of a treaty depends upon provision for "adequate inspection." To this end, our negotiators have urged a picket line of 200 seismic-wave detection stations around the world, which could record tremors from possible nuclear explosions, and thus prevent violation of the treaty.

Evidence has come to light, however, demonstrating that "adequate inspection" of a test ban is impossible. The Rand Corporation, which examines such matters for the Air Force, finds that underground explosions, properly contrived, cannot be recorded by the inspection devices we have favored. Moreover, it is now established that underground blasts frequently simulate earthquakes—a point which proponents of the ban once attempted to deny. All of which means we cannot be certain whether the Soviet Union is testing nuclear weapons or not.

Such facts have been known, in a general way, for many months. The first confirmation of the fact that atomic explosions can imitate earthquakes came in early 1959. Last year Dr. Harold Brown of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory was questioned by Senator Bourke Hickenlooper: "Would you not say that the probabilities of locating almost any size of underground atomic explosion where there was a determined effort at concealment of the location . . . is practically nil?" Dr. Brown's answer: "I think it is very small. For practical purposes I think it may be quite close to zero." Similarly, John McCone, former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, says we have no instruments capable of monitoring nuclear tests within the vast expanse of the Soviet Union.

All these findings confirm the 1958 judgment of Dr. Edward Teller: "A nuclear explosion is a violent event, but in the great expanses of our globe such tests can be effectively hidden if appropriate care is taken to hide them. There can be no doubt that this is possible."

Such facts mean, first of all, that hopes for policing a treaty on test suspension are doomed to disappointment. It is scientifically impossible for the Geneva negotiations to establish procedures insuring that Moscow will not test atomic weapons when our own program has been permanently dismantled.

They mean, moreover, that our self-imposed moratorium on atomic tests has been an act of immeasurable folly. For we now realize what should have been surmised at the beginning: the Soviets may have been testing nuclear weapons all along. Just such a conclusion, in fact, was reached last fall by AEC Chairman McCone.

Logically, therefore, the moratorium should be lifted forthwith, and the pointless negotiations in Geneva should be cancelled. When we discover that a given set of methods are unworkable, the rational course is to abandon them. Our government apparently prefers to hang on to the methods, while simply altering the objective. Those who have been saying we can and must have "adequate inspection" of a test ban now admit that they have been wrong, and that for the past two years we have been unable to know what the Soviets are up to. But rather than reverse their irresponsible performance, they have improvised a new irresponsibility: Negotiate a treaty anyway, and trust the Soviets to live up to it. Or, as the Associated Press puts it: "The more the problem of detecting underground explosions is studied, the more it becomes apparent [to Western officials, not to anyone else] that some element of trust will have to be built into the treaty."

It is hard to believe that this seriously represents the thought of men entrusted with defending the security of the United States. Or, indeed, of men who have proclaimed that the United States is lagging behind Moscow in armed strength, and must, if we are to survive, "get moving again." Yet the very renewal of the test-ban negotiations, in the teeth of all relevant evidence, confirms the extremity of our condition. We are indeed prepared, it seems, to abandon our nuclear arsenal to please the Soviets—and then trust them to have mercy upon us.

The test-ban compulsion becomes all the more irrational when we recall that there is no reason why the United States should *not* explode nuclear weapons, and every reason why it should. The "fallout" scare on which the anti-bomb agitation was first premised has been discredited. The perfection of underground tests, which yield no fallout, has rendered the whole argument obsolete.

On the other hand, there are countless dangers in continuing the moratorium, or in achieving any kind of permanent test-ban agreement with Moscow. American strategy in all its phases is geared to the use of nuclear weapons. By outlawing their further development, we are outlawing our own strength. Communist strategy comprehends a variety of subliminal, non-atomic aggressions—including internal agitation, insurrection, brushfire wars. None of these depends for its success on Soviet nuclear strength; but all of them depend upon neutralizing American nuclear strength. As Raymond Garthoff has put it: "The employment of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons is necessary in the United States [strategic] concept, but not in the Soviet one." And: "If the Soviet Union can stalemate the United States in the intercontinental arena [i.e., neutralize our atomic arsenal], the way could be clear for gradual expansion of power through any of a variety of methods, military and non-military, in the entire Eurasian periphery."

Thus a permanent ban on atomic tests, inspected or otherwise, would represent a monumental victory for Moscow. Our negotiators are earnestly parlaying for their own destruction.

M. STANTON EVANS

• Abroad •

Léopoldville. The opposition of all non-Communist leaders to the Indian national, Rajeshwar Dayal, as UN proconsul, and to the import of thousands of Indian combat troops is based in part on specific recent experience: Dayal and the Indians have consistently aided the Lumumba-Gizenga crowd and the Soviet line. But in the background is a fact of sub-Saharan African life of which American public opinion is unaware. To native inhabitants around much of the Indian Ocean periphery, the Indians loom as the major "imperialist threat." For several generations, Indians by the thousands have been migrating to East and Central Africa. They have formed tightly knit, aggressive communities, with a social attitude of scornful "Indian superiority" toward black men. In many areas they are rather like the Jews and the Chinese in other parts of the world, with retail trade, import-export business and finance (especially usury) in their hands. Many native Africans see Dayal and the tough Sikhs and Ghurkas as a spearhead of deeper Indian imperialist penetration. They also see that the Indians are arriving on U. S. planes.

Port Louis, Mauritius. Perhaps no other spot on earth faces more starkly the problem of the twentieth century population explosion than this 720 square mile British-ruled island, isolated in the middle of the Indian Ocean 550 miles off Madagascar. Its population is now 650,000, or 900 per square mile, up from 420,000 six years ago, doubled since the war. The cause is science: wiping out malaria, lowering infant mortality with no reduction in the birth rate (there are currently four births for each death). The only important industry is sugar, which the world has running out of its ears, and no one has suggested what other important industry there could be with neither resources nor market available.

Watford, England. A huge, neon-lit café, the *Busy Bee*, near one end of Britain's first superhighway, M-1, is the rendezvous of the Ton Kids. These are black-jacketed teenagers who, by the hundreds, wheel out their motor-cycles, late at night or at dawn, to roar down M-1's 72 miles and back. M-1's third lane is informally reserved for riders who periodically move out from the pack to "break the ton"—i.e., beat 100 mph. The leading Ton Kids disown the "coffee-bar cowboys" who think it chicken to wear crash helmets. "Not that I haven't done the ton," the *Manchester Guardian* reports one Kid to have added the other night at the *Busy Bee*. "I haven't done it on the motorway, either; that's too boring. I've been in one or two burn-ups as well. That's when you're going along and a kid overtakes you. Then you overtake him, and he overtakes you again, and so on. I live for motorbikes. A teenager's life is really boring these days and motor-bikes have real kicks. The government ought to do something for teenagers. Youth clubs are no good. Why do they think I'm interested in carpet and sign-songs?"

Cape Town. Faced with the grim problems raised by its split with the Commonwealth, South Africans take some comfort from the complete failure of the past year's ardently publicized consumer boycott movement. In Britain, Labor, Left and Liberals have been promoting the boycott since February, 1960. Nevertheless, in the twelve months ending January 31, 1961, South African imports into Britain actually rose: from £90 million to £97 million. There were substantial increases even in those products easily distinguishable as South African in origin.



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"One or two of you may have doubts as to my regime's ability to withstand a Castro-type rebellion."

Abidjan, Ivory Coast Republic. This former French colony is linked with Upper Volta, Dahomey and Niger in the "Council of the Entente." On their united insistence, France has reluctantly agreed to negotiate revised co-operative agreements without the condition that these four new nations remain inside the "French Community." This development would seem to signal the beginning of the collapse of General de Gaulle's cherished concept. Of the thirteen former French African colonies, only six still consider themselves Community members. Guinea of course never did join. The institutions set up to administer Community affairs are not functioning. Neither the senate nor the council of Community premiers has met for a year. What little the Community Secretariat has managed to accomplish has been under continuous criticism.

London. The official sessions of the Commonwealth Conference were preoccupied with the issue of South Africa. Sir Roy Welensky, Premier of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland—who was sadder than any other participant, except possibly Prime Minister Macmillan, at the official result—used his off-duty hours to test his idea for a Central African Union. This would be, in its first stage, a kind of common market comprising the Federation, Katanga, Mozambique and Angola. Economically and geographically these areas supplement each other, with the mineral, agricultural and industrial potential of the healthy Rhodesia-Katanga plateau finding its outlet to the sea through the Portuguese territories. These latter, in turn, link naturally with South Africa.

• The Investor •

Can you exercise patience, more patience and then still more patience? If not, the brokerage commissions you pay are likely to exceed your investment gains. It's the get-rich-quick instinct that keeps race tracks and gambling casinos crowded even though the odds are heavily stacked against the bettor.

Many investors see the New York Stock Exchange as a betting arena. And in a sense it is. However, in contrast to the race track and casino, the big rewards from stock investments are earned by, 1) the continued acquisition of knowledge about companies, their business and their managements, 2) the application of that knowledge and 3) the exercise of patience.

Some people are not psychologically suited for successful investing. They have neither the patience to study companies, nor the patience to hold investments over the years to achieve large multiplication of capital. Furthermore, they will not succeed through hiring professional investment advice because, as a rule, they haven't sufficient self-discipline to hold on during those almost inevitable setbacks both in the general stock market and in an individual company's business.

People demand of an investment adviser that every stock acquired advance immediately subsequent to purchase, and that it continue to advance with only minor declines in price. This may happen for a period of time with one or more stocks, but over the years this is an exception—not the rule.

The advertisements of some stock advisory services list only their past winning recommendations. Unfortunately, this tends to confirm the public in the belief that its demands are not unreasonable. Common sense suggests that, had a service such a sure-fire touch, it would not be interested in drumming up outside business. But common sense is a rare commodity in questions of this sort.

A few, but fortunately not many of my investment counsel clients, sold certain stocks originally purchased for long-term investment during the "discouragements" of 1960. Declining earnings, foreign and domestic political crises, plus a generally-declining stock market occupied the 1960 news headlines. Bearish forecasts for business and for share prices were played up in most publications and the trend of business supported such predictions.

A senior partner of one large New York Exchange firm confidently predicted 350 on the Dow Jones Averages before an upturn. He is dedicated to the proposition that long-term stock holding is foolish; that selling to protect capital from important stock market setbacks is essential to successful investing.

This approach to investing is most appealing and would be wonderful if it worked consistently. But what is this forecaster doing now that he has missed out? Is he buying stocks he sold at higher prices, or is he sitting, cash in hand, awaiting the decline to 350, whether it takes one year or many? (One former New York Stock Exchange mem-

ber has been waiting with government bonds since 1946—waiting for the "inevitable" postwar depression.)

What should be an investor's basic program in order to achieve capital and income growth? After 36 years' experience, I have concluded that the greater part of the investor's portfolio should be comprised of stocks of strong and successful, research-oriented companies in expanding industries. They should be companies which put back more than half their earnings into operations and thus compound their growth and dividend-paying ability.

Some of these important growth companies are known to most investors, yet only a small percentage of investors own them. Too often these stocks are sold prematurely, thus depriving the investor of the huge gains which have accrued to the patient holder. Other growth companies have yet to achieve wide investor recognition, for one reason or another. But when recognition comes, there will be important rises in their shares.

Investment advisers can earn their fees many times over for investor clients through 1) helping them to select growth companies and 2) persuading them to retain these stocks over the years, despite temporary disappointments.

When stock prices decline, the news is always discouraging and the troubles often are real, not imagined. Bad news travels fast and the best intentions of a would-be long-term investor can be upset by it. It takes knowledge and experience to be able to place bad news in perspective, properly to evaluate its probable effects.

As an example of this, General Electric and Westinghouse shares have recently been hard hit by anti-trust actions. However much the occurrence is to be deplored, shareholders of these companies should not be panicked by fear of catastrophic financial losses.

For too many investors a stock represents little more than a company name and a fluctuating price on the New York Stock Exchange. When upsetting news appears in the headlines, and the commuter train is buzzing with rumors, often the easiest course is to sell.

This column has, on a number of occasions, mentioned the aircraft industry. Its shares are responsive to changes in foreign and domestic political news. Abrupt changes in defense programs can mean bad news or good news to a particular company. Many consider aircraft companies as speculative companies and some of them certainly are. But informed selection in this industry plus an unusual degree of patience in the face of discouragements could prove very rewarding over the next five to ten years.

The aircraft industry hires more technical and scientific brainpower, and spends more money (including government grants) on research and development than any other industry. It is reasonable therefore to expect that some company or companies in this industry will find ways to adapt their flow of newly-acquired knowledge and skills to industrial products. Aircraft companies which manage to combine efficient production and effective distribution skills with technologically-advanced products could become great growth companies.

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